THE NEW JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"

- 1. The first (September 1958) issue of the new international Communist journal Problems of Peace and Socialism* was distributed late in August. The English-language edition of the journal runs to 113 pages in the first issue and consists of a statement from the Editorial Board, 6 major articles, 17 short articles, and a few book reviews and short notices.
- 2. As a widely distributed mouthpiece for the current party line, the journal will be an important instrument in Soviet control and coordination of the international Communist movement.
- 3. The "main task" of the new journal is "the propagation and further elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory". At present, this means the propagation of the basic strategy of the Twelve-Party Declaration of November 1957, which substantially modified the program and policies of the 20th CPSU Congress. Following the extraordinary 21st Congress of the CPSU, scheduled for January 1959, the journal will "prepagate" whatever further elaborations (if any) of the basic strategy are made.

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This is the internationally used title. The English-language version is entitled World Marxist Review and the French edition is entitled La Nouvelle Revue Internationale. The Swedish edition is entitled Internationall revy. All carry the subtitle, "Problems of Peace and Socialism". The journal is also published in Russian, Chinese, Czech, Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Vietnamese, Albanian, Korean, German, Spanish and Italian. The Japan Communist Party has announced that it will publish a Japanese edition.

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4. In broad terms, this program means a continuation and intensification of the international Communist political, economic, and ideological offensive. The main direction of this program continues to be expansion of Bloc influence in the underdeveloped areas via the "national liberation movement". Free World CP tactics continue to be concentrated on supporting this expansionist strategy. In addition to the global offensive, Moscow is intensifying its efforts to smother independence of thought and action within the international movement, particularly in the Communist bloc.

The new journal expresses this two-pronged effort in terms of the allegedly decisive shift in the balance of world forces in favor of "socialism" and the "inevitable" collapse of "imperialism" on the one hand, and the singling out of "revisionism" as "the main danger to the Communist movement in present-day conditions", on the other hand. The journal states that it "considers it its paramount duty to fight against all expressions of bourgeois ideology and first of all against revisionism".

5. As a concession to the tactical pose of the "independence" of the CP's and to those CP's, like the Italian and Polisia, which opposed a directive-type organ along the lines of the Cominform journal, the journal specifies that it will not issue "directives". Nevertheless, it has already done so in effect in the first issue, by stating that it will stick closely to the Twelve-Party Declaration, "which was approved by the international Communist movement". With former Kommunist chief editor A. M. Rumyantsev in charge, Problems of Peace and Socialism is under close Soviet control. A good measure of this control is the fact that the other members of the Editorial Board remain anonymous. It will be interesting to see their stature as compared with Rumyantsev's, as they become known.

- 6. In one of the advance announcements about the journal it was hinted that it would carry articles by non-Communists, on a selective basis. This has been borne out by the appearance in the second number of the journal, which went on sale in Prague on 13 September, of an article by an Egyptian, Khaled Mukhi ed-Din, who is not an openly avowed Communist. He is however known in Egypt as a Communist; he is frequently quoted by the Soviet press as a representative voice of Arab nationalism, and was elected to the World Peace Council in July 1958. He has long been a leading figure in organizational work concerning the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.
- 7. Preparations to launch the journal encountered obstacles. It took about a year and a half (from mid-1956 until November 1957) for agreement merely to create an international publication. The decision was finally made at the Moscow conference of CP representatives, but nothing further seems to have been done until a conference at Prague on 7-8 March 1958, when it was announced that "some" parties had decided to begin work "shortly". Rumyantsev's assignment as chief editor was not announced until 15 May. Further difficulties concerning the various language editions, title of the journal, publication and distribution facilities, etc., were encountered at a meeting of CP delegates to the Czech Party Gongress in June, and the decision to publish Swedish and Vietnamese editions was not made until the second half of July.
- 8. The formula used in the first issue of the journal to describe its sponsorship (i.e., failure to identify the CP's which took part in the March conference in Prague), leaves the door open for further expansion of the Editorial Board. The sponsoring CP's include the twelve bloc parties plus several outside the Bloc, none of which has been identified publicly. All CP's are urged to participate in the publication. Some of the editions of the journal are published in Prague, and Free World editions are distributed by established Communist publications outlets as follows:

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English

Central Books, Ltd., 37 Grays Inn Road, Lendon, W. C. 1

Canadian

Progress Books
924 King Street West,
Terento 3, Ontario

French

CDLP

142, Boulevard Diderot

Paris, XIIe

Spanish

Editorial Anteo

Galle Entre Rios 1039, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Finland

Kansankultuvri Oy

Simonkatu 8,

Helsinki

Denmark

Forlaget Tiden Dr. Tvärgade 1-3,

Copenhagen

Iceland

Socialistaflokkurinn

Thorsgatan 1, Reykjavik

Norway

Norsk Forlag Ny Dag Grönlandsleiret 39

Oslo

The Swedish edition is distributed in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, and Norway. It is published by Arbetarkulturs Förlag, Kungsgatan 84, Stockholm K, and the Responsible Editor is

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K. Bäckström. The French and Spanish editions, along with some Bloc editions, are also distributed through the Czech

Press Distribution Agency in Prague. The English edition is published by W. N. Clark, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2.

Analysis of the Swedish edition suggests that the new journal is handled in the same way as the Swedish edition of the defunct Cominform journal, For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy. Under this assumption, Russian and German texts would be sent by air mail from Prague to the Swedish CP publishing house, Arbetarkulturs Förlag. These texts would then be translated by a team under the direction of the responsible editor of the Swedish edition, Knut Bäckström (who was also in charge of the Swedish edition of the Cominform journal, and the translator team is presumably the same as the one that got out the Cominform journal). The Swedish edition of the new journal appears to be a simple verbatim translation from Russian or German texts. There is good reason to believe that the Swedish edition of the new journal is not translated in Prague: stylistically, it is very similar to the tortured "Moscow-Swedish" of the Cominform journal. The Swedish edition is probably financed (including publication deficits and salaries for the Swedish editorial staff) entirely by the CPSU, through the Sovinformbureau office in Stockholm. The other Free World editions are probably handled in the same way. *

A consistent misspelling of the name of the President of Argentina ("Frondiri" instead of Frondizi) in the English edition suggests that the article by Alberdi was translated from a manuscript in which a commonly used European acript form of the letter "z" was misread by an Anglo-Saxon translator as an "z". The Swedish, French and Russian editions do not have this error.

The various language editions appear to have identical texts, but the format varies slightly. For example, the English edition is printed in page-wide columns and runs to 113 pages, whereas the Swedish edition has two columns on each of its 159 pages.

- 9. There has been a delay in the publication of the Italian edition. L'Unita announced on 13 September that the first issue of the journal would appear in Italy only in its French edition. The journal will appear in Italian for its second number (October).* The reasons for the delay are not known. They could be merely technical, although the timely appearance of a Swedish edition and the substantial size of Italian Communist press assets would seem to make this unlikely. The delay may have been caused by some disagreement within the CF over the issuance of a centralized international organ. It is known that the Italian Party leadership was opposed to such an organ in the past.
- 10. Despite the delay and confusions encountered in launching the new journal, it is impressive in format, if not in content. The first section consists of the statement of the Editorial Board and six lead articles, which, taken together, cover all the main theses of the current international line-"peace" tactics, the campaign against "revisionism", "superiority" of Communism, Bloc solidarity, and the strategy of "national liberation". The lead articles in the first issue were written by Antonin Novotny (President of Czechoslovakia and First Secretary of the Czech CP); Li Fu-chun (Vice

^{*} It has since been announced that the Italian version, entitled Problemi della Pace e del Socialismo, will have as its Responsible Director a former L'Unita reporter, Francesco Colonna.

Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the CPR); G. Glezerman and B. Ukraintsev (Soviet theoreticians), Jacques Duclos (Secretary of the French CP), L. Tismaneanu (a Rumanian professor), Ostap Dluski (Vice Chairman of the Polish Sejm Commission on foreign affairs and a leading Peace Partisan). The articles elaborate on the themes that the United States is "peace enemy No. 1" and the main enemy of the independence of peoples throughout the world, that only Communism can save mankind, that Communism will win the world, that the Communist brand of democracy is "a million times more democratic that any bourgeois state, " that the "socialist" state must be infinitely strengthened before it can "wither away", that the purge is a permanent operation in China (repetition of the "rectification campaign...at set intervals"), that the United States is behind resurgent "militarism" in West Germany, that De Gaulle's "dictatorial ambitions" are abetted by the "traitorous policy of the Socialist Party leadership," that Yugoslav views on the Bloc's co-responsibility for world tensions are "embellishing American imperialism", that the Soviet Union "is the leading force in the camp of Socialism", and that relationships among the Bloc nations are wonderful.

11. The second section of the first issue, occupying roughly one-third of the total, consists of short (1 to 4 page) contributions under the rubric "Exchange of Opinions," which are presented as abbreviations of contributions to a discussion held in Prague on 23 June (at the time of the Csech GP's 11th Congress) on the subject of the "Economic Crisis and the Working Class". More than 28 CP's, in addition to those represented in the Editorial Board, were announced as being represented at the Conference. The Conference was held under the auspices of the editors of the journal. The contributions printed in the journal focus on a key theme of the Twelve-Party Declaration: "the world capitalist economy remains

shaky and unstable". Within this frame work, for which chief editor Rumyantsev provided a broad theoretical basis and general political line, the journal contains contributions from mineteen Gemmunists. The main action topics concern tactical applications of the strike weapon and the tactical problems of the "national independence" strategy. There are significant indications of sensitivity to the break with Yugoslavia (Israel, Geylon) and of hardening of the line in some places vis-a-vis the "national bourgeoisie" in the national liberation united front (Syria, Indonesia).

The main theoretical discussion is supplemented by a professional economiet.'s analysis of the economic recession in the United States. The article by A. A. Arsumanyan makes the following assertions: (1) the "crisis" in the United States is real, and it has extended abroad; (2) it is "likely" to lead to a depression in the United States, and the "bourgeois state" will not be able to prevent this; (3) however, "the crisis must not lead us to the mechanical conclusion that a revolutionary situation is close at hand, or conversely, that the absence of a crisis signifies that a mass revolutionary upsurge of the masses is remote." In other words, Moscow is not yet prepared to draw firm conclusions about the political consequences of another depression, or to tie revolutionary action to a situation which may not develop.

The contributions of most of the other participants in the symposium included "analyses" of the impact of the "crisis" in their own countries, with emphasis on justifying and illustrating the tactical link between "struggle for economic demands" and for national economic development on the one hand, and Communist political campaigns on the other (e.g., against "fascism" in France, atomic weapons in West Germany, acceptance of the offers of aid from "imperialist capital" in the UAR, etc.).

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- 12. There are some noteworthy omissions from the symposium as summarized in the first issue of the journal. Although representatives from the following countries participated in the Prague discussion in June, they are not represented in the summary: Great Britain, Greece, Denmark, India, Netherlands, Norway, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Iran, Jerdan "and other countries". It is also worth noting that the Italian contribution is by Mansocchi, the head of the Central Economic Section of the PCI, rather than by Velio Spano, a member of the Party Directorate and a much more senior man in the PCI.
- 13. The final sections, under the headings "Activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties", "Reviews", and "Letters and Notes", includes some interesting items: the issuance of the fifth edition of Lenin's works in which will appear for the first time officially the famous "testament" and a number of previously unpublished materials; an account of a conference of the underground Dominican People's Socialist Party; a review of Luigi Longo's 1957 booklet, "Revisionism --New and Old". This is of interest in that it seeks to discredit the "neo-revisionists", whose appearance was stimulated by the impact of Khrushchev's speech on Stalin and the Polish and Hungarian crises, with the tar which Lenin used against the "revisionists" of his day. "Revisionist" challenges to authority cannot be tolerated, since they waste energy and endanger "unity and solidarity /which/ constitute the fundamental principle of the international Communist movement."
- 14. As a whole, the contents of the first issue of the journal are uninspired elaborations of the Moscow line on all aspects of the world struggle and on the effort to suppress freedom of thought and expression within the international movement. The Twelve-Party Declaration is the blueprint for the movement for the foreseeable future. This may be

embarrassing to some Communists, just as the reappearance of a central organ, with all its evidences of centralized authority and a strong Moscow accent, may embarrass the CP's that pretend to be the staunchest defenders of national independence. It will be interesting to see how the CP's make use of the journal and whether some Communists react as adversely to it as they did to the old Cominform journal—which was a joke in many party circles. Even if this proves to be the case, the new journal should in no circumstances be underestimated as an authoritative vehicle for the international line.